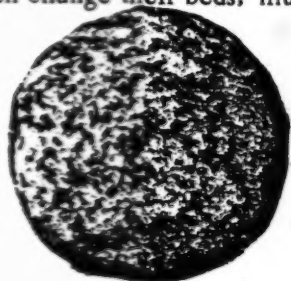


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The Indians of Ibopeytí, although living in the neighborhood of the San Simon salt mine, consume it in the form of the big balls which I have just mentioned. Pulverized, it is a salt which reminds one of our table salt but coarser. The inhabitants of this village assured me that they used to find it near the Pilcomayo. That is very possible, for the rivers which flow in the region are very salty as their names indicate (Río Salado, Saladito, etc.). These rivers, which frequently overflow and often change their beds, must form here and there real salt



marshes. The Chiriguano of Ivu and Macharetí collect the water from a salt spring, boil it, and by successive coolings obtain salt which they mold into balls (Campana, p. 89).

Fig. 28. Salt molded in a ball, ready to be consumed or exported. Prov.: Ibopeytí. (1/2 nat. size ±.)

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The Chiriguano are parsimonious with their salt. I did not see them salt anything but dried beans; and when the latter are cooked in the pod, they are served that way without condiments, the same as corn or squash.

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When a Chiriguano woman offers you a dish of beans or meat, she always puts some corn flour beside you. It is not easy to eat it according to the rules; the Indians take great pinches of it between their fingers and throw them into their mouths with marvelous dexterity. Upon seeing them so adroit, I thought of their ancestors from Brazil, the ancient Tupinamba and Guaraní, who excited the hilarious admiration of the first navigators: "But however that may be, our Tououpinambaouls, men and women as well as children, being accustomed from childhood to eating it (manioc flour) completely dry instead of bread, are so used to and trained for that, that taking it with

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T /360 cont./

195 their four fingers from the earthen dish or other vessel in
264 which they keep it, even though they throw it from rather far
away, nevertheless they put it so accurately into their mouths
that they do not drop a single bit. So that some of us French-
men, wishing to imitate them, thought we would eat it in that
fashion, and not being at all trained for that like them, in-
stead of throwing it in our mouths, we discharged it on our
cheeks and floured our whole face; /361/ consequently unless
those principally who wore beards would have wanted to be
accoutered as players of farces, we were constrained to take it
with spoons" (Léry, Vol. I, pp. 143-144).

T
262 This comparison permitted me to suppose that roasted
252 corn flour has simply replaced the "farinha" of the Brazilians.
264 As we know, the pulp of manioc tubers, after being carefully
squeezed in the tipiti, or trough, was roasted on a terra-cotta
slab and changed into dry flour, with which the Tupinamba
accompanied all their meals. The Chiriguano think the same
C
262 way about atši: they say that corn flour, in order to be eaten,
264 must have an accompaniment, an intina. To my way of think-
196 ing, atši and muínti are two substitutes for manioc flour that
the Chiriguano invented or adapted after emigrating into a
C
[171] land where bitter manioc was unknown. Neither the other tribes
of the Chaco nor the Quichua eat corn in this form, and, to my
knowledge at least, there is no doubt that the Chiriguano
introduced these two dishes into the country, without counting
a goodly number of the ones which have been enumerated.

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262 The only fruits that the Chiriguano consume on a large
scale are the prickly pear or tuna (Opuntia), which are seen
C
[245] in all their villages. They also plant some fig and orange
[099] trees when they are under mission influence. They are also
great lovers of melons, of sandias (watermelons), and when
they have eaten one of these which has pleased them particularly,
they keep the seed. They love sugar cane with a passion.
Sorghum is especially meant for the children, for whom these
graminaceae are a veritable sweetmeat. They suck the juice,
which is as sweet as that of sugar cane.

/363 cont. /

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they
[177] butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as
those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[272] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano
drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross
their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry
up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses
form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give
its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like
the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which
occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped
out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its
bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent
any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in
them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village
situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to
five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its
impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

• 264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a
rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again
take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men
are served first, then the women and children, it follows that
the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each
one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his
knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe
liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating,
they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

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Chiriguano mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

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Dwellings.—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

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The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

352

Household furniture.—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

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Clothing.—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (*chiripá*), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (*cushma*), which was adopted from the *Querehu* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

Rio Paraguay after Garcias marauding expedition, not far from the tract where the Guató now live.

A potspade of the same type from the Yulámana along the Rio Querarý is shown in an illustration by KOCH-GUTENBERG.¹⁾ I have not seen the shoulderblade potspade in any other tribe.

Similar spades, said to have been used for agricultural purposes, are mentioned by Sr. CASCO²⁾ from the Conibo.

Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané for the most part eat their food with metal spoons which they have got from the Whites. They have, however, wooden spoons as well. They generally eat from earthenware bowls of their own make. They seldom have wooden bowls. I have already treated of the distribution of the wooden bowl and the wooden spoon. (Part 1 map 12 and 13.) They are features of western civilization. Calabash bowls are universally used by the Chiriguano and Chané as drinking vessels, particularly for chicha.

Silver bowls — «Cagua» — are occasionally seen at the Chiriguano festivals. These bowls, which are shaped like cloven calabashes, are often furnished with small ears and are made by mestizo smiths to suit the Indian taste.

There is in my collection a calabash bowl that has been turned into a ladle by means of a handle. It is from the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. I have also procured some bowls made of the fruit of the calabash tree from the Chiriguano. The Indians get them from Sta Cruz de la Sierra, for, as far as I know, the calabash-tree is not cultivated within their own area.

Fire-fans of plaited palm leaves are used, though they are rather uncommon. These fire-fans belong to the cultural elements which have come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the north and east. Later on, when writing about the Indians in northeastern Bolivia, who have sev-

¹⁾ T. 2. P. 209.

²⁾ P. 287.

Chane SF 8

/179 cont./

ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashinaiy village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashinaiy. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they



Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.

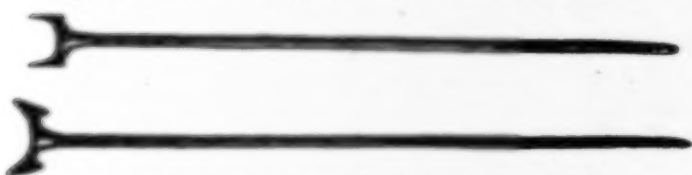


Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath.

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

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/189 cont./

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use.

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukiu." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used.

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity.

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers.



Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus.
Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

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Chane SF8

/190 cont./

It seemed to me that true meakines were observed here, the first of which was in the morning, the second in the middle of the day, and the third at sundown. 264 •

If they have an abundance of food in the house, they also invite in the neighboring households. A visiting Indian is very hospitably received. He need not leave without having received maize beer or food. In the Chand villages on the Rio Parapiti the Indians always served me a bowl of sweet potatoes when I visited them. Ee 574



Fig. 92b. Upper clay-vessel. The specimen illustrated here is from the Mataco-Veja, who learned how to use it from the Chand. 1/4. Ce 415 171

The Chand do not eat donkeys, mules, horses, dogs, fowls, Vultures, or monkeys. On the other hand, puma and jaguar are regarded as edible. Ce 262

Even if the women in the villages are not cooking, brewing, or tending their little ones, they are nevertheless always busy. Ee 461 462
At least one almost never sees the older ones among them without an occupation. They spin, make clay vessels, weave. I learned to appreciate these women; I admired their loving care of the children, their industry, their maintenance of the home, their skill, and their taste.

/204 cont. /

and Mataco, who still in part dress in fur cloaks, seem to me, like the Fuegians and Patagonians, to have immigrated to the Chaco from the cold pampas in the south where washing was extremely unpleasant, whereas the Chiriguano and Chané come from the north, out of the warm, humid, virgin forests, from the great rivers, where bathing was always pleasant and refreshing. Now, where /Fig. 109 appears here/ they live under the same climatic conditions, the former have preserved their dirt, the latter their cleanliness.

Im Thurn (1) reports that the Indians in Guiana bathe

1. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883.



Fig. 108.

Woman's tattooed arm. Chiriguano, Irapuiba.

immediately after eating, without any harm to them. I often observed the same thing here.

The Chiriguano and various Chané shampoo the head with the seeds of "Gyneria," which they grind. For the same purpose the Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the bark of the mimol /Zizyphus mimol Griseb. /, "yilag." The nails, and /205/ not least the toenails, are also very carefully tended. For combing they use combs carved in wood or made out of sticks of cane tied together.

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/19 cont./
from the whites (87).

82. Nord. 1. p. 183. Métraux L. pp. 359
and 360.

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Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in cer-
tain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or
algarrubo deserves mention (82). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1. pp. 734 and 736. Métraux L.
pp. 364 and 365.

Ce
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or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the
Chané of the Parapetí River is considered inferior.

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The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a
common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this
their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made
of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (ma) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1. p. 190.

Ce
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[26]
I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano
and Chané (cf. Figs. 78-80 /see p. 143/), as well as two wooden
dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated
by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay
dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter
on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden
plates in the collection.

C
415
Wooden Dishes (ma) of the Chiriguano

- L.A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 5 cm.
L.A. 352. (" ") " 15.5 cm. " 2.5 cm.
L.A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 23 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
L.A. 497. (" " ") " 30 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

Ce /51 cont./ These vessels have a globular
415 form and are provided with a handle. The bottom of three
of them is clearly distinct from the belly, forming a foot.

Ce
[531] Two of them have designs on the surface; the others are with-
out designs.

C
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[124]
8. Vessels Used as Receptacles for Food, from the
Collection

L. A. 394. Chiriguano. Height 17.5 cm. Aperture 44 cm.

L. A. 401. " " 11.5 cm. " 30 cm.

C
[24] Two of the baked clay dishes that I obtained from the
Chiriguano in Machareti seem to me to be too big to be con-
sidered as dishes for eating, because Nordenfalk states
that (228) the Chiriguano do not eat from a common dish, but

228. Nord. 1, p. 190.

rather each one has his own separate dish. We can assume
that these are vessels used as food containers or serving dishes
for food before it is placed on the individual dishes.

C
[531] The two dishes are without designs. The flat bottom is
well distinguished from the wall, which widens upward. The
dish L. A. 401 has a rather wide rim which has two handles.
Cf. Fig. 83b /see p. 118/.

9. Vessels Used for Storing Objects

C
Cc
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[177] In contrast to the other Indians, the Chiriguano and
Chané use vessels for keeping anything of value. I did not
receive from the Indians any indication /52/ that any of the
vessels I brought from them belonged particularly to this type.
Therefore I refer here to a vessel shown in a drawing by
Nordenfalk with the caption "For keeping knickknacks in"
/cited in English/ (229).

229. Nord. 2, p. 156 and Fig. 45, N. 19.

/52 cont./

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Nordenskiöld says in another place that the mistress of the house keeps all the family's valuable things, such as clothing, ornaments, silver plates, turquoise or chrysocolla necklaces, and many other things, in these vessels (230).

230. Nord. 1, p. 179.

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10. Dishes for Eating (nyá e), from the Collection

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I. A. 388	Chirig.	Height	6.5 cm.	Aperture	21 cm. (Fig. 79a)
I. A. 389	"	"	8 cm.	"	23.5 cm. (Fig. 79b)
I. A. 390	"	"	5.2 cm.	"	15 cm.
I. A. 391	"	"	4 cm.	"	13 cm.
I. A. 406	"	"	9 cm.	"	25 cm. (Fig. 78a)
I. A. 586	Izozo	"	13 cm.	"	25.5 cm. (Fig. 76b)
I. A. 591	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	16.5 cm.
I. A. 594	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	21 cm.
I. A. 595	"	"	9 cm.	"	20 cm. (Fig. 80a)
I. A. 598	"	"	13.2 cm.	"	25 cm.
I. A. 612	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	19 cm.
I. A. 613	"	"	8 cm.	"	21 cm. (Fig. 80c)
I. A. 614	"	"	9 cm.	"	22 cm.
I. A. 615	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	27.5 cm.
I. A. 616	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	22 cm.
I. A. 618	"	"	10 cm.	"	18.5 cm.
I. A. 620	"	"	15.5 cm.	"	15 cm.

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[531]

Because every Chiriguano and Chané as already mentioned, eats from his own dish, such baked clay dishes are found in great number in the houses of these Indians. Many of them that are intended for ordinary use do not have designs, while others, used on the occasion of fiestas, have designs on their outer surface or on the upper rim of the interior surface, or are provided with small additions.